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STATE SUPPORT OF COLLEGES

ELECTION PRACTICES

The topic under discussion at the last meeting of the North Carolina Club was that of Elections and Election Practices. The paper was presented by Mr. Paul W. Wager, secretary of the Club.

Mr. Wager began with the statement that "the ballot is more than a piece of paper. It is the symbol of liberty. It is the instrument through which popular government is realized. It is a priceless heritage gained little by little from the time King John made concessions to the nobles at Runnymede until President Wilson proclaimed the nineteenth amendment in 1920. The franchise is a sacred privilege and a solemn trust, yet many appear not to esteem the privilege nor to respect the trust."

He pointed out that the electorate is the most basic of the several departments of government, and it is through the ballot that the electorate finds expression. The electorate not only fills the public offices, but indirectly it influences or controls the policy of government. Where the initiative and referendum is in use the electorate shares directly in shaping governmental policy. The task of the voter has become too burdensome, and the short ballot is being suggested as a means of relief.

The speaker then described the machinery of elections in this state,—the state board of elections, the county boards of election, the precinct officers who are charged with the registration of voters and the conduct of elections. This was followed by an enumeration of the qualifications for voting in this state. The literacy test, he said, should be rigidly applied to those who have become voters since 1908. In other words the constitution should be enforced.

Absentee Voting

There seems to be considerable confusion, he said, as to the scope and application of the absentee voting provision in the election law. Apparently the privilege applies to two classes of voters, and two only: (1) those who are absent from the county, know in advance that they will be absent, and apply for a certificate to be signed, witnessed and returned with their votes on or before election day; (2) those who are physically unable to come to the polls and who, in sending their ballots or votes, accompany them with a physician's certificate. Absentee voting is more complicated and more susceptible to abuse than would be the case if we had the Australian ballot. Now there are two kinds of certificates for the use of absentee voters. Certificate A is used when the voter is returning the ballots which he wishes to vote. Certificate B is used when the voter has not received any ballots and simply expresses a desire to vote for all the candidates of a particular party. It is this latter form which can be most easily manipulated for mischievous purposes. It is no trouble for party workers to secure a quantity of these blank certificates before election and bring them in on election day marked with the names of persons supposedly unavoidably absent from the county. As a matter of fact the names may be those of persons already dead or removed from the county, but still remaining on the poll list. In one county in a recent election more than four hundred absentee votes were counted; some of the persons voted did not exist, and few of those who did exist were consulted.

The abuses which have attended the operation of the absentee voting law have led many to the conclusion that absentee voting should not be permitted at all. The speaker said he did not share that view. There are thousands of teachers, students, and traveling salesmen who would thus be deprived of their votes. This would be unjust, undemocratic, and unnecessary. What we do need is first the Australian ballot, and then a law similar to the New York law which permits none to vote except those who make affidavit in advance that they will be unable to come to the polls on election day, and who receive and return their ballots through the mail.

Secret Ballot

The speaker then contrasted the orderliness and dignity of a New York election where the Australian ballot is

used, where schoolhouses are used as polling places, and where women commonly serve as election officials, with the disgraceful conditions which often characterize elections in North Carolina. He said we could not expect quiet, dignified, honest elections so long as we have an open ballot. He predicted that the Australian ballot would be adopted by the present General Assembly. The state, he said, could not stand the shame any longer. Nothing is more repugnant to a citizen from another state when he votes for the first time in this state than to have someone looking over his shoulder while he votes.

With minor differences there are two types of the Australian ballot,—the office-group type and the party-column type. The first is known as the Massachusetts form and the candidates for each office are grouped under the name of the office. The arrangement may be alphabetical or in the order of party strength. The party name usually, but not always, follows the candidate's name. The party-column, or Indiana, type of ballot places all the nominations of a party under the title and device of such party. Sometimes there is a circle at the head of the column, and a mark in the circle is a vote for the entire ticket. The Massachusetts ballot is the superior form, in the opinion of the speaker, for the reason that it encourages independent voting and leaves no doubt as to the voter's intention.

The impression prevails that there is something difficult and mysterious about the Australian ballot. It is called Australian because it was first used in Australia, but in reality it means no more than a secret ballot. It is not difficult to vote if the voter has reasonable intelligence. The disabled and the elderly illiterate are entitled to impartial assistance. The young illiterates have no right under the constitution to enjoy the privilege of suffrage.

Summary

In summing up Mr. Wager said: "We have no right to boast of our democracy, nor even to call this a democratic country, until every qualified elector can express through his ballot his deliberate opinion with none to molest him or make him afraid. I do not believe we can have democracy in its fullest and best sense until we provide a system of minority representation on all administrative boards and proportional representation in all legislative bodies. I do not believe that we can have real democracy until merit rather than wealth becomes the criterion of eligibility to political office. I do not believe we can have effective democracy until the rank and file of the people are intelligent enough to recognize and annihilate every demagogue that dares to raise his head. It will take more than a clean election and a secret ballot to produce a successful democracy, but these must be our first objectives. Let us insist on these six requirements as a minimum:

1. Men and women of ability and character on the county boards of election.
2. Frequent purging of the registration lists.
3. A more restricted absentee voting law, and that rigidly enforced.
4. Clean, comfortable polling places with intelligent men and women in charge.
5. Rigid and impartial application of the literacy test.
6. A state-wide Australian ballot, preferably of the Massachusetts variety.

AGRICULTURE @ INDUSTRY

Balancing agriculture and industry means the attainment of a position in which those engaged in agriculture will receive from their labor and from their investments rewards approximating those which flow from industry.

Despite the increase of about 10,000,000 people in the United States in five years, 1920-25, the number of tilled farms decreased slightly, farm population lessened about 8 percent and the value of farm products dropped 35 percent from the high-price year of 1919. Of these, we are disturbed over the great reduction in the value of the crop in 1925. Ways must be found to either reduce the overhead expenses of agri-

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

What do we need to keep the nation whole,
To guard the pillars of the State?
We need

The fine audacities of honest deed;
The homely old integrities of soul;

The swift temerities that take the part
Of outcast right—the wisdom of the heart.

We need the Cromwell fire to make us feel

The common burden and the public trust

To be a thing as sacred and august
As the white vigil where the angels kneel.

We need the faith to go a path untrod,
The power to be alone and vote with God.—Edwin Markham.

culture or to secure for those engaged in it a higher price for their products or a larger share of the price now paid by the consumer, or both.

Now the agricultural situation is more satisfactory than in any other year since 1920, statistics showing an approximate net return on capital invested in agriculture of 4.6 percent. The disturbing factor now is the heavy burden of debt under which the farmer is laboring. His constantly recurring losses have placed him in a position where ordinarily satisfactory returns are not sufficient. He must be given a better return than was required a few years ago if he is to regain his rightful place.

Farming is not a new business groping for standards which it may follow safely. It is older than our Government itself, and those engaged in it know how it should be conducted. With that knowledge as a foundation, encouragement along several specific lines ought to produce very helpful results.

Given a fair chance, the farmer promises to look out for himself. However, as bankers we can aid in eliminating waste, give counsel regarding credit, advise on investments, urge closer relations between the farmer and the advisory agencies maintained for his use, encourage good farm practices, and aid the farmer in carrying his crops until such time as he desires to sell. I strongly endorse the policy of encouraging and aiding farmers to hold their crops until favorable markets offer.

There should be the same community of interest between banking and agriculture as there is between banking and industry.

Our efforts to establish that relationship will go a long way toward enabling the farmer to accomplish his own rehabilitation and regain and maintain his American independence. No other course would be more satisfactory to agriculture, and no other course offers greater possibilities.—J. Elwood Cox, in Banker-Farmer.

THE NEW SOUTH

Henry W. Grady has been dead nearly forty years, but his works live after him. Every skyscraper which rises in those astonishing cities of the new South is in a real sense a monument to Grady and his genius. If ever the spirit of man conceived and brought forth a vast social change, Grady did. He named the "New South" in his famous address before the New England Society in New York in 1886, and in the few feverishly active years left to him gave his bantling a program which is now swiftly coming to a rich fruition.

In nearly every social about face there are commonly two leaders—one who tears down and another who builds up. Sam Adams and Washington, Rousseau and Napoleon, Pym and Cromwell, Grady managed both jobs. First, he gave a death wound to the unreconstructed Southerner, that statuesque figure who could not forget and would not forgive. Grady laughed this sectional ideal down. It has been a long time dying and occasionally still stirs in its grave; nevertheless, Grady's barbs stuck. Then he took up the task of supplying a new ideal—material and social progress as part of a united nation. The fight between the old South of Colonel Carter and the new South of Henry Grady was not yet over when the

latter died at thirty-nine; but it was as good as won, because Grady gave his people a social program with one hand while he conducted blasting operations with the other.

All the Southern states are moving along in Grady's wake, but the one which bids fair to realize his ideals first is North Carolina. North Carolina's progress is genuinely indigenous—of the soil and soul. She has no Atlanta, no Birmingham, no Chattanooga, no Miami, no New Orleans; but she has Chapel Hill and the University of North Carolina, and a host of men, like Branson, who have seen a great light and are hot-footing after it. Along with good roads, electric power, and growing industries, North Carolina is pushing education and a homely culture for "The Forgotten Man" so well described by Walter Hines Page in his rousing lecture of 1897. Consequently, the State is preparing the seed bed for the future blossoming of the arts, which, after all, is the true measure and test of all civilizations.

Other Southern States are marching in the same direction. An obsession with religious word-splitting has not blocked that march, even in Tennessee where Vanderbilt University's quiet but sufficient answer to the Scopes hullabaloo was to open new research laboratories. Noticeably, the work of Southern agricultural and engineering colleges grows in stature and authority year by year, and in many quarters signs of intellectual and artistic renaissance multiply.

The old South had its own clear voices in Poe and Lanier; the new South will not be quite sure of itself until it has found expression in modes more delicate and lasting than pig iron and horse power. When the vision of Henry Grady shall have been materialized in steel, the next thing will be to sublimate it into higher values. And in that, perhaps, the South will be more promptly articulate than the North, for it has the advantage of coming into industrialism late and should profit by Northern experiments in the all-important matter of adjusting the machinery of industrial progress to the older and equally fundamental need of men.—The Independent.

STATE AID TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES For Maintenance in 1924-25

Based on a report of the Federal Education Bureau, dated December 21, 1925, giving state appropriations for state-supported colleges and universities—the latest figures for all the states. The states are ranked on a per inhabitant basis, using as divisors the total state populations as per the 1925 census.

On this basis North Carolina appropriated for current expenses for state colleges and the University \$1,530,000 for the year 1924-25, which was 54c per inhabitant. Twenty-nine states appropriated more per inhabitant, ranging from 55 cents in Ohio to \$2.43 in Oregon. Six Southern states appropriated more per inhabitant, namely, Louisiana 96c, Oklahoma 86c, South Carolina 77c, Texas 59c, Florida 58c, Alabama 57c.

Leaving the negroes out of the calculation, five Southern states stood ahead of us in 1924-25 in per white inhabitant appropriations for the support of state colleges and universities; namely, South Carolina \$1.61, Louisiana \$1.58, Florida \$1.05, Oklahoma \$1.01, Alabama \$0.93, North Carolina \$0.81. South Carolina nearly exactly doubled North Carolina. See table elsewhere in this issue.

On the basis of total appropriations for maintenance of state colleges and universities the following states appropriated more than North Carolina: Oregon, Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, Washington, Kansas, California, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Indiana, Texas, Ohio, and Illinois, which gives North Carolina the rank of 17th from the top of the column. Three of these states were Southern, namely, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

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Rank	State	Total appro. current exp.	Per inhab. appro.	Rank	State	Total appro. current exp.	Per inhab. appro.
1	Oregon	\$2,098,462	\$2.43	25	Texas	\$3,068,553	\$.59
2	Nevada	184,819	2.39	26	Florida	733,592	.58
3	Colorado	1,707,310	1.64	27	Alabama	1,411,825	.57
4	Wyoming	342,500	1.60	28	West Virginia	920,000	.56
5	Idaho	754,828	1.49	29	Ohio	3,517,286	.55
6	Iowa	3,423,692	1.42	30	North Carolina	1,530,000	.54
7	Nebraska	1,819,133	1.33	31	Illinois	3,615,516	.51
8	Washington	2,014,839	1.33	31	Maine	400,000	.51
9	South Dakota	859,850	1.26	33	New Mexico	190,500	.50
10	Utah	614,500	1.22	34	Virginia	931,015	.38
11	North Dakota	776,992	1.21	35	Missouri	1,210,000	.35
12	Kansas	2,092,025	1.15	36	Mississippi	479,675	.27
13	California	4,661,110	1.09	36	Tennessee	665,886	.27
14	Michigan	4,625,798	1.08	38	Vermont	92,153	.26
15	Arizona	456,867	1.07	38	Arkansas	480,000	.26
16	Minnesota	2,741,976	1.05	40	Maryland	369,295	.24
17	Wisconsin	2,361,392	.97	41	Kentucky	577,800	.23
18	Louisiana	1,825,000	.96	42	Massachusetts	736,427	.18
19	Montana	608,985	.91	42	Rhode Island	128,000	.18
20	Oklahoma	1,963,150	.86	44	Connecticut	236,305	.15
21	South Carolina	1,394,108	.77	44	Georgia	466,525	.15
22	Delaware	179,000	.75	46	New Jersey	482,949	.14
22	Indiana	2,297,829	.75	47	New York	1,232,010	.11
24	New Hampshire	331,396	.73	48	Pennsylvania	812,226	.09

¹ Data in part for 1923-24. ² For agriculture and forestry alone. ³ For forestry alone.

IN THE SOUTH

State Aid to State Colleges and Universities in the South for Maintenance in 1924-25.

States ranked by appropriations, per white inhabitants alone. Figures based on a report of the Federal Education Bureau and the 1925 census of population.

Three Southern states are ahead of North Carolina in total appropriations for current expenses (Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas); South Carolina and Alabama nearly equal us. On a per white-inhabitant basis five states stand ahead of us, South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, Oklahoma and Alabama.

Rank	States	Total appropriations for current expenses	Per white inhab. for current expenses
1	South Carolina	\$1,394,108	\$1.61
2	Louisiana	1,825,000	1.58
3	Florida	733,592	1.05
4	Oklahoma	1,963,150	1.01
5	Alabama	1,411,825	.93
6	North Carolina	1,530,000	.81
7	Texas	3,068,553	.65
8	Mississippi	479,675	.56
9	Virginia	931,015	.55
10	Arkansas	480,000	.36
11	Tennessee	665,886	.34
12	Georgia	466,525	.26
13	Kentucky	577,800	.25